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*The Pahlavi Text of Yasna ix. 49-103 for the first time critically translated.*<sup>1</sup>—By Rev. LAWRENCE H. MILLS, D.D., Professor in the University of Oxford.

**The Attributes of Hōm (i. e. of Haoma).**

Good is Hōm, who is the well-giving one,<sup>2</sup> [that is to say, thou hast given with propriety], who art the just giver,<sup>3</sup> [that is to say, Thou givest a thing to that one to whom it is quite appropriate (or encumbent upon thee) to give it].

50. The giver of good (thou art, the giver of a benefit); [that is to say, thou wilt give the thing which is a benefit (lit. which is good)];<sup>4</sup> (thou) who (art) the healer, [that is to say, thou dost thoroughly heal a thing (making it healthy)].

51. The well-bodied one thou art, [that is to say, with thee the body is handsome (lit. 'good')]. Well-intentioned<sup>5</sup> (or 'well-desiring') thou art, [that is to say, by thee that is desired which is proper.]

52. The victorious, the yellow-hued (thou art), the tender-sprouted, [that is to say, thy sprout is soft].

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<sup>1</sup> The texts from which these translations are made appeared as edited with the collation of all the MSS. and with their variants in the twenty-third vol. of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, first half, July 1902. The square brackets enclose the glosses; the curved marks () my explanations. [The transliteration has been brought nearer to the standard published in this *Journal*, vol. xxi, second half, p. 191.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> So I render, to bring the statements into line; but it is possible that the writer meant to say 'the well endowed', 'thou art endowed with propriety.'

<sup>3</sup> Notice that the original here is arš-dātō, and not arš-dātō.

<sup>4</sup> This repetition is not so fatuous as it looks; the word meaning 'good' is repeated in its Semitic form.

<sup>5</sup> According to the gloss, dehāk when understood as active, whereas we might be inclined to regard it as passive.

<sup>6</sup> Here the trlr. repeats his former blunder, losing sight of the radical š or ž. He refers huvareš (huvarš) to var = 'to choose'. Hence his hū-kāmak'.

53. When they drink thee thou givest an excellent thing (or 'the best thing')<sup>1</sup> for the soul; thou art most an accumulator of portions; [that is to say; it is necessary or possible to make the store<sup>2</sup> for the soul good through thee, for a share in heaven is through thee].

**Appeals for knowledge, energy, etc.**

54. Tell<sup>3</sup> on thine inspiration, O yellow one, [tell me a thing which (is attended and) attained with knowledge. Let learned wisdom be mine].

55. (Tell me) fully (of) power and fully of victory [let it be also mine].

56. (Tell me) fully (of) health and healing.

57. (Tell me) fully of progress and of the giving of prosperity.<sup>4</sup>

58. (Tell me) fully of strength of the entire body and of wisdom which is all-adorned, [it is as when one understands the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly 'a heavenly thing' was meant. It is perhaps worth while to point out in passing such an error as the accusative *pahrūmīh* for the nom. *vahištō*; notice that a form of *vaxš* is not used, as elsewhere, to explain *vahišta*.

<sup>2</sup> Was not *Garōdmānikīh* suggested by the external shape of the termination -*mainyōtemō* in *paṣmainyōtemō* (or *pāṣm-*) which recalled *māinyū*, whose root is 'man' = 'to think', whereas the 'mān' of 'garōdmānikīh' is to be referred to an entirely different word, 'man' = 'to abide'. But notice our indebtedness to the Pahl. trlr. for a good rendering of *pāṣm-* even when regarded as merely an alternative. Otherwise we might insist upon 'most path-finding for the soul'.

In regard to the meaning 'viaticum' as a 'provision for the soul on the way to heaven,' it does not suit the other occurrence of *paṣmēñg*; see Y. 46, 2.

No 'store of provisions' was made for the cattle on the way to any destination, nor do we hear of any store for the soul elsewhere as a wayside provision.

Hōm accumulated a 'store of enjoyment' for the soul here and hereafter; but food for the journey to the 'beyond' hardly.

<sup>3</sup> Of course this shows a gross misestimate as to the grammatical form; see SBE. xxxi, pp. 235, 236. Notice that Nēr. follows the error. He would read a *mruvē* as an imperative, or else he read a *mrūdi*, or a *mraoš*.

<sup>4</sup> So according to Nēr's *puṣtīdātīm*, or 'of the giving of one's choice desire' to var; possibly 'the giving of outpouring', to *var* = 'to rain', might be meant. At all events the translation is really a blunder.

end of a thing; also knowledge (is) forever<sup>1</sup> his by means of this]. (That is to say, if he knows the end, he knows all.)

59. (Tell me) fully from that source how they go forth in the world having independent power (or, better, read *sātūnēnī* (or *-nānī*') with *Nēr.* and the orig.). '(Tell me) fully how I may go forth', and let me (lit. 'may I') overcome hostility, and conquer<sup>2</sup> the *drūj* (i. e. demon of the foe).

#### 60. Appeals for defence and victory.

(Tell me) fully how from these (resources) I may overcome<sup>3</sup> all that hostility of the enemies (lit. the torment of the tormentors) which is from the demons and (from) [evil] men,

61. (from)<sup>4</sup> the sorcerers and (evil) fairies (from)<sup>4</sup> the tyrants and the Kayaks and (from) the Karpas, (the meaning of *Kayak va karp*) is [those (?) who are blind and deaf<sup>5</sup> as to the matter of the Yazads],

(62) (from) the biped<sup>6</sup> murderer (or 'miscreant') [even from the biped *āharmōk* (the persecuting-heretic)], and also (from) the quadruped the wolf,<sup>7</sup>

(63) (from) the wide-fronted host also, [that is, theirs is many a murderer; some say this (that the meaning) is that, 'their nostrils<sup>8</sup> are wide'], who fly<sup>9</sup> with craft.

<sup>1</sup> I should have preferred *hamāk* to *hamāi* with *Nēr.*, but not in view of the gl. with 'the end'; this points to 'ever.' Otherwise 'all' knowledge would be better as being nearer the original.

<sup>2</sup> *Sātūnd* is of course an error, but in view of the correct *tarvēnānī* = 'let me overcome' and *vānēnī* = 'let me conquer,' for so we must understand the falsely written *tarvēnānd* and *vānēnd*, we may also restore *sātūnd* to *sātūnēnd*, really first meant for *sātūnēnī*, or '—ānī.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Y. 28, 7 for *tarvēnānī*.

<sup>4</sup> Of course these forms should be understood as being in the gen. abl. like their original and their predecessors: see *Nēr.*

<sup>5</sup> These ideas are erroneous traditional growths; see *Gāthas*, vol. iii, a, pp. 130, 131, on the article *Kavi* and *K.* The renderings 'blind' and 'deaf' are mere careless traditional deductions from the outward forms of the words.

<sup>6</sup> Genitive abl. again with *Nēr.* So in 63, 'Biped' is of course but another word for 'human' here.

<sup>7</sup> *Nēr.* curiously renders this as 'tiger.'

<sup>8</sup> So perhaps, thinking of negroes. 'The wide-faced' would be indeed the more original, as the words are applied only figuratively to armies.

<sup>9</sup> I can see no necessity for the meaning 'who fly'. 'Who path-along (sic) with stratagems' might express the idea. Certainly 'flying' in the sense of 'retreating' was not meant.

**Boons asked of Hōm.**

64. This first boon which I pray<sup>1</sup> from thee, O Hōm, who art from death afar, (is) that which (is) the best world of the saints which is bright, all-glorious.<sup>2</sup>

65. This second boon which I beseech of thee, O Hōm, who art from death afar, (is) the boon of constant bodily health (lit. 'the healthy continuance<sup>3</sup> of the body', 'the unbroken continuance of the body's health').

66. This third boon which I ask from thee, O Hōm, (thou) far from death, is the long living on (i. e. 'the vitality') of life.

67. This fourth boon I ask of thee, O Hōm, (thou) far from death, is how (meaning 'that') from (the condition of) a suppliant<sup>4</sup> (that is to say, 'in accordance with my prayer') I may go forth both strong and successful upon the earth, and may overcome (still further) the hostility (lit. 'the hateful torment') and that I may conquer the drūj (demon of all harm).

68. This fifth boon which I pray of thee, O Hōm, the death-afar, is that I may go forth upon this earth as a victorious smiter in battle, that I may overcome hostility (lit. 'the hateful torment'), and that I may conquer the drūj (demon of deceitful harm).

69. This sixth boon I ask of thee, O Hōm, (thou) death-afar, (is) that I may see (the thief) before the thief (sees me), that I may see before the bludgeon murderer (sees me), that I may

<sup>1</sup> Zaidyam-ī, so reading with the MS. D. in the other occurrences = 'I would ask of thee'; but 'ī' is of use here to connect hōm... ī dūrāōš.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is better to read hamāk here with the MS. D., as hamāi = 'ever' conveys rather too much meaning. Some might prefer 'all-happy' to 'all-glorious'.

<sup>3</sup> The word, rōvešnīh (so, now) = 'continuance' is a sort of false gloss caused, as elsewhere, by the suffix -(t-)ātem (to drvatātem) which seems, as elsewhere, to have been suggested by a form from i, aē = 'to go'. See avaētās (= '-tāts') rendered anāk-rōvešnīh at Y. 31, 20 where the aētās, rendering 'rōvešnīh,' was suggested by an aētās; cp. Ind. iti, éta.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. from 'a wisher'; but see Ner.'s better bahuvrīhi. I am now inclined to depart from this traditional rendering and to refer aēšō, to iṣirā, etc.: 'that I may go forth 'fresh' and 'powerful'; cp. eṣā as against eṣa.

see before the wolf; [the exhilaration (is) the remedy (that is, that I may procure thine exhilarating stimulus as a defensive remedy arousing my energies to be on my guard and my eyesight to be keen to trace the lurking figures)].

70. Let no one see before us (i.e. get first the sight of us); before all may<sup>1</sup> I see,<sup>2</sup> [I and my disciples].

#### The Gifts of Hōm.

71. Hōm gives to those who are swift, to those who would make their horses completely efficient, even to them, he imparts energy (that is speed) and strength that is endurance; [(this is for) the charioteers].

72. Hōm will give also to those bringing forth in birth<sup>3</sup> a brilliant<sup>4</sup> son, and a sacred<sup>5</sup> offspring.

73. Hōm imparts to those who sit much at home (lit.. 'housely'<sup>6</sup> (sic) in the continued study of books, (that is to say, 'of the priestly lore and ritual') increased prosperity and learning.

74. Hōm grants to those who are maidens, and sit long unappropriated, [that is to say, who are not married] a master who is manifestly-true<sup>7</sup> (or 'really their own'), [that is to say, he will

<sup>1</sup> So A (DJ.).

<sup>2</sup> Nēr. here supplies an upāyaṃ = 'remedy' as above in 69 where it represents properly the Pahlavi čārak. This is of course an error in 70 where no čārak, nor upāyaṃ is called for; but it occurs only in the gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Nēr. and the Parsi-Pers. translate negatively. We should simply correct their erroneous short 'a priv'.

<sup>4</sup> One would be inclined to adhere to this meaning for xšaētō- here. The royal family might be held in view as typical.

<sup>5</sup> We should avoid, so far as may be possible, attributing too profound a meaning to the word aharūv'. The meaning really held in view in the general use of the word aharūv' in such a connection as this would be not so much 'holy' or 'righteous' in our sense of the word, as 'thoroughly respectable,' in the orthodox community, 'of good repute and attentive to all religious duties,' morality being of course understood.

<sup>6</sup> I do not accede to the Pahlavi rendering for katayō, which I refer to Indian kati = 'how many'. The Pahl. has katīk which Nēr. understands to mean 'at home, gṛhasthāḥ'; see SBE. xxxi, p. 237. The Pahl. formation seems to refer to kata, which at times may mean 'house.'

<sup>7</sup> I think the orig. haithīm should be here understood in one of the senses of 'sat', 'santam'; i. e. as meaning 'good'. Whether āškārak' could be brought to express such an idea is difficult to say.

make a husband appear for them] also for [each of] them (he will provide) a husband; also for them he produces' quick and (is) one who is endowed with understanding,<sup>2</sup> [(the meaning) is, when (they are) presented to a man, upon the spot he is in action].

#### A Punishment.

75. Hōm deposed from the royal authority those who are of the keresā(n)ī<sup>3</sup> party who had grown(that is to say, 'who had become extreme') in (ambitious) seeking for the sovereignty, [that is to say, they have (actually) ascended the throne (lit. mounted the sovereignty)];

76: that is, who say thus: 'Not on our account later, (i. e. in future) do the priests with their desire for continual reciting<sup>4</sup> (possibly for 'over-reciting') walk in the province (go about the country); [they would treat us thus; it is from our action when they do not (thus) walk (so, literally, possibly meaning 'they render us, i. e. they make us to be thus,' 'it is out of (from?) our action (or 'sphere of active influence') even when they do not (i. e. even when they no longer) walk'; that is to

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<sup>1</sup> The false text zerkhūnēt is well corrected by Nēr. (and Darmesteter does not follow the Pahl. here). Nēr. has \*yācayitāram = 'a beseecher'; The Pahl. trlr. was curiously thinking of jan = zan; but of course Nēr.'s acc. is incorrect for jaiḍyamnō; other grammatical relations also are misapprehended. For a critical free version, see SBE. xxxi, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> 'Endowed with understanding' should refer to Haoma as in the nom. Quick goes with jaiḍyāmnō and refers to Hōm.

<sup>3</sup> When we have such a plain analagon as the Vedic kṛṣānu for our keresānīm, we should pause before we think of 'Alexander,' though this piece was doubtless not older than his time. We should also note that our Iranian keresānīm may be indeed a text corrupted from a keresānūm, as there are prominent Zend MSS. in which ī and ū (at least) are actually written alike. Nēr.'s deeply interesting report of the opinion contemporaneous to him should not be overlooked. It was that the Church, 'ecclesia' was alluded to in keresānīm and also its 'Christians.' See the edition of the texts.

<sup>4</sup> 'Desire for reciting' is of course an egregious error for aivištiš vereiḍyē. Aivištiš never equalled avarhōšmūrešnīh, except as a free and strained rendering; and I still think that vereiḍyē belongs to vard (vered); cp. Sk. vṛdh. It may, however, possibly be an infin. to var = 'to choose,' in the sense of 'benevolent cherishing.' Nēr. errs with the Pahl. See SBE. xxxi, p. 239 for a critical free rendering.

say, 'they put us out of action, which inefficiency lasts even after their proselyting peregrinations have ceased.')

77. Such an one as these conquers heroism of every kind;—slaughters outright heroism<sup>1</sup> of every kind [before and behind].

#### Hail to Hōm.

78. 'Happy' thou, [that is to say, thy person has become (lit. has arrived good;<sup>2</sup> or perhaps it was meant to say 'it is welcome')], O Hōm, who art an absolute-king (i. e. a desire-king, a king reigning according to desire) through thine own power, [that is to say, thine is power in that duty (or deed). What is necessary (or desired to thee), that it is possible to thee to have].

79. Happy thou who understandest thoroughly many a religious (lit. 'many a truthful') word [which is proper; for it is proper in accordance<sup>3</sup> with the (religiously) true word: kana vača aršuxḍa (so)].

80. Happy thou, who wouldst not be conferring forth from (that is to say, 'aside (?) from') that which is the truthful

<sup>1</sup> Nēr. seems nearer with his vṛddham ṭālayati (sic). Or could the meaning of vṛddhi 'increase' and vardanām be considered appropriate for gūrdīh? which we should naturally render 'heroism'? The Parsi-Pers. does not translate the word, and affords only the awkward transliteration gūrdī (sic). Possibly my text 'gūrdīh' should be considered to be used in a particular sense. We must remember that 'the increaser' was in himself almost 'sacred,' and so 'heroic.' 'The institutor of prosperity' was naturally regarded as endowed with every virtue, and with valour as well. We may remember that Nēr. elsewhere rather curiously rendered fravāhar=fravaši by vṛddhi. But may not the sign for 'g' in our supposed gūrdīh be really superfluous. We remember that a gvi-kṛūnīh was recognized at Y. 53, 8, it being an outcropping of an ancient velarisation. So here we may have a gvardīh (with an original 'g' surviving) in place of a vardīh. As to the objection that this would be the out-cropping of a form too ancient to be possible, we could rejoice that a 'gvi' for vi=vi='apart' would be quite as ancient, and as difficult.

<sup>2</sup> Or possibly in the sense: 'thou hast appeared beatified.'

<sup>3</sup> Rāi must be read with Nēr.'s yena for the senseless lā. which came from the misunderstood 'na' of 'kana' (so to be restored). Whatever the Pahl. trlr. may have understood by these words, I should restore them as above, and explain them as referring, perhaps indirectly and through some other passage, to Vend. xix, 28-35. The first particulars there mentioned refer to 'the word' which was to smite and destroy the creatures of Angra Mainyu.



speaking of conference,<sup>1</sup> [that is to say, thou mayst (or 'dost') not say a thing which Aūharmazd did not say<sup>2</sup> in the conference].

### The Girdle.

81. For he who (is) Aūharmazd bore to thee the ancient girdle (so, but the word is merely transliterated) the star bespangled, the spirit-made (made by the spirits), the good law of the Mazda-worshippers, [so his girdle is this; that is to say, as the kūstik is singly made with a man (when he is created, a kūstik for each born believer), the law also which is with, that is to say 'upon' him, is also thus 'singly made.' Also its 'singleness of make' is this, that so long as a man does not drink hōm in the (observance of) the Religion he will not become clear<sup>3</sup> (lit. unstupified); the drinking of hōm is a ceremony (or 'duty') in the sacrifice].

82. With that art thou girded upon the highest (spot) upon the mountains, [when there thou hast grown, also this thy 'single-createdness' (sic) is thus] while, or since, thou art for the lengthy<sup>4</sup> continuous progress,<sup>5</sup> (that is to say, since thou dost concern the far future), [while (or 'until') thou art of the future body (that is to say, since (or 'until') thou dost concern the interests of the future state) in the manthra, [that is to say, they (will) continually until the future state (is reached) prescribe thee in the ceremony of the Yasna].

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading hampūrsakihā : 'Happy thou, whose is not (a question) apart from the conference (whose are on the contrary) truthfully spoken communication and conferences.'

<sup>2</sup> Referring especially to the questions in Y. 44, and also to those in the Vendīdād.

<sup>3</sup> This is the single effect of it, that it clarifies the intellect by stimulating it.

<sup>4</sup> drāj = 'to maintain' may really be etymologically related to drājah = dirāz; but the Pahlavi translation of drājāhē as dirāz is, I think, erroneous. It means 'for the maintaining of,' hardly for 'the long drawn out recital of.'

<sup>5</sup> So the Pahl. madam sātūnešnīh is not correct for aivi-āitišca; madam is not amiss for aivi, but the ā of āitiš seems to be separated from the -āitiš-, which latter was again thought to be associated with 'īti,' or itī from i, aē = 'to go,' which is sufficiently ridiculous.

**Still further prayers to Hōm.**

83. O Hōm, who art house-chief and village-chief and tribe-chief and province-chief, [that is to say, thine is universal predominance as to 'religious' matters (lit. spiritually all-lordship is thine)]; and thou art prosperity and a well-informed<sup>1</sup> lord, [that is to say, it is thoroughly possible to thee to impart (prosperity and information)].

**Deprecations.**

84. Power is thine and victory for this which is my body, whose (is) also complete prosperity which affords much enjoyment [through the afrīn',<sup>2</sup> that is to say, wealth (is thine) from which abundant happiness is derived].

85. Bear off from us that which is the torment of the tormentors;<sup>3</sup> and bear<sup>4</sup> off their intent which is severe upon the abode,<sup>5</sup> [the kingdom, or 'their authority'].

86. He who in this dwelling, in this village, in this tribe, and in this province may be the enemy (lit. 'the hater') [the harmful sinner (the hostile heretic)],

(87) take away that which is the strength (or 'swiftness') of his feet,

<sup>1</sup> The stimulus of the fermented hōm was supposed 'to cheer one' as with a view of 'prosperity' and to awake the intellectual faculties so that they might acquire information.

<sup>2</sup> Mruvē seems to be only rendered, if at all, by pavan afrīn'; not so, however, Nēr. But he mistakes the form for a first singular imperative; notice that Nēr. treats pavan afrīn' as gloss, translating it āšīr-. For this reason I treat the pavan afrīn' as gl., regarding upa mruvē as not being translated by the Pahl. trlr. Patīxvīh as \*ṛddhatvam seems rather lame for ʾrīmāi; for the critical free version see SBE. xxxi, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Again an allusion to the Gāthas; see Y. 28, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Forms in -āñd are sometimes like those in -yēn used for the 2d sing. imperative.

<sup>5</sup> 'Severe upon the abode' is of course almost a comic reproduction for garemantām, though 'girān' might be regarded as conveying the idea of its original. Probably we have a case of an additional translation here, the work of some later transcriber conveying the idea of an alternative. He first translated 'garm' as a denominative without sign, and then thought that mān='abode' might do for -mantām. Nēr. follows him.

(88) turn<sup>1</sup> off that which is his understanding;<sup>2</sup>

(89) render that which is his thought destroyed, [i. e. make it thoroughly inefficient to him];

90. Let him not be going forth upon his<sup>3</sup> two feet: may he not be able (to work) with his two hands, [that is to say, may he not be able to do destructive iniquity with his hands];

may he not be able (to work) with his two hands, [that is to say, may he not be able to do destructive iniquity with his hands];

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<sup>1</sup> Here the trlr., Nēr. following, mistakes *verenūiōi* for a form of *vart*; see SBE. xxxi, p. 238 for a critical free rendering: 'throw thou a veil of darkness,' 'a blinding wrapping;' lit. 'around his intellect wrap up.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Around his two ears wrap up' might be a better rendering of the original; as to this see *Gāthas* vol. iii a, dictionary, p. 101. *Manō* following in the next subsection might seem at first sight, and even later, to confirm the rendering of the Pahl. trlr. from the argument 'that the word 'mind' follows the word 'understanding'?' Some, however, might argue in the reverse direction, urging 'that a second term almost in the sense of *hūš* would be redundant and pointing out that 'wrapping up his two ears' was congruous to 'his two feet' in 90. *Manō* may however bear a more general, or universal, sense. I prefer on the whole the meaning 'understanding,' though the word may elsewhere describe 'the two ears of Ahura Mazda,' which is, though seemingly so quaint, not an impossible expression.

<sup>3</sup> The trlr. could hardly help recognising the dual form here; so Nēr.; it is not a case for remark. Nēr. was troubled by the two words *fratūtuyāo* and *aivituyāo* meaning 'to have forward capacity (capacity to advance)' and 'to have circumstantial capacity (capacity about a thing).' He seems to have thought of *fra* while *yāo* suggested some form from *i, ae*, = 'to go.' At least so Nēr.'s *prapatayatām* indicates. Is it however possible that Nēr. was wrong and that *patūk'* here expresses possibility? Or does he intelligently omit one of the seemingly redundant forms. Notice that the trlrs. do not render the form in *-āo* as 2nd pers., but as 3rd. Too much importance should not, however, be attached to that. While I accede to the view that *fratūtuyāo* and *aivituyāo* are use for 3rd personals (see SBE. xxxi, p. 239), I am of the opinion that they are, together with their Vedic companions in *-ās*, in reality 2nd personals in form, a sudden reversion to that form taking place much as the 2nd person pl. in English may be used indefinitely; 'may you be able' for 'let one be able,' or 'may he be able.' Under the influence of this law the 3rd pls. opt. may be used as 2nd sing. imperatives: 'let them do . . .' = 'let one do . . .' = 'do you', in *-āñd* and *-yēn*. In this connection we may notice the sudden use of the 3rd pl. where the narrative concerns the singulars. as in 99, *vebedūnyēn*: 'they (such as he) would do it,' this in close connection with 'he thinks and says', meaning 'He thinks and says, and they, i. e. one (in his situation), would do it.'

(91) may he not see the earth with his two eyes ; may he not see the herd with his two eyes,

(92) he who may be hostile to that which is our purpose. [That is to say, until (or 'so that') he who is hostile may not be able to contrive against our proper interest (may he thus be deprived of sight)] (and also) against our body, [that is to say, with our body may he not be able to establish hostility (i. e. may he not make good his malice)].

#### Anathemas.

93. Against the (dragon) Aži, the green, the dreadful, whose poison has thoroughly reached<sup>1</sup> its aim, [whose poison has completely reached the body],

(94) when he may approach<sup>2</sup> the body, toward him who is the saint, O Hōm the yellow, for him also dost thou make evi-

<sup>1</sup> Viš - barā - āyāft should be regarded as a bahuvrīhi 'who is endowed with a hitting poison'. 'The poison affected' would not be so good. Barā-āyāft is of course an egregious blunder for the plain višō-vaepahya (not -ahe) Nēr. however follows it as usual with his višāvēpte.

<sup>2</sup> So, reading -nāt. The Pahl. trlr. errs in referring nāšemnāi to the second 'nas' = 'to reach'. Some extreme traditionalists hesitate to follow him, whereas elsewhere they seem to be almost unvarying in their adhesion. One might be tempted to read yezrūnāt transitively: 'when he (the dragon) would drag his body against the saint.' But the 'motive' of yezrūnāt (so reading) is evidently 'nas' = 'to reach' as erroneously seen in nāšemnāi. In SBE. xxxi. I could only render 'to the saint who perishes', 'perishing as to his body,' or possibly better 'to the saint in the course of losing his body'. As to the rendering: 'for the saint destroying the body of the Aži,' if kehrpem refers to the body of the hostile person or being, i. e. the Aži in each case and not to that of the saint, then it is controlled by the preposition paiti with a jaiōi anticipated and does not at all feel the influence of nāšemnāi which undoubtedly refers to the menaced saint. In that sense only can paiti refer to kehrpem, as it does undoubtedly to kamereðem. Paiti looks awkward indeed as governing the genitive, and I feel that a kamereðem understood is its real object. Aside from the clumsiness of the position of kehrpem, see 98 where kehrpem follows the kamereðem of 97; and this separates kehrpem from the aži, as does also the metre, which shows that it, kehrpem, belongs to nāšemnāi ašaonē in the other sense throughout. That is to say, 'kehrpem nāšemnāi ašaonē' means 'to the body-perishing saint.' 'To the body-losing saint' might, as said, be a useful alternative. We should not hesitate to give a transitive and causative sense to 'nas' in the middle participle of the 'š' aorist 'losing his body', but 'perishing bodily' is also admissible. Against the meaning 'destroying the body of the serpent' we have also the general sense

dent<sup>1</sup> (thy) blow [that is to say, declare thoroughly a remedy for it].

95. Against the ruffian who works apart,<sup>2</sup> [that is to say, who works more apart than (or 'from')<sup>3</sup> that which it is fitting to do (who evades the law)] the blood-wisher,<sup>4</sup> [that is to say, they (such as he) would (like to) inflict wounds] do thou (as) a tormentor<sup>5</sup> [speak on],

(96) who may (or 'when he may') approach the body, (i. e.) toward the saint, O Hōm, the golden, for him thou showest

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of the place where the saint is on the defensive: see where the Aži is 'swallowing men', and 'swallowing horses.' The saint who smote the dragon was not one of the common faithful, but a signal hero, see above; and here also, it is Hōm to whom appeal is made as regards future dangers. See even 92, where \*kerp' is actually stated to be 'our body.' This would seem to be decisive. The 'our' refers to the orthodox party of which the body-losing saint was but an individual though representative member. See also 95, where zazarānō, a nom. sg. masc., intervenes between the genitives and kehrpem; see 99, where kehrpem is separated from the ašemaoyahya (not -ahe) by eleven words; see 101, where, instead of the genitive, we have the dative, which makes a reference of the word 'body' to the hostile party still more improbable. See 'hē' intervening in 103.

<sup>1</sup> The rendering pētākēnih zanešn' for vadar(e) jaiōi conveys the idea well enough; but as zanešn' evidently renders jaiōi, pētākēnih must be meant for vadar(e), the 'motive' of which it is difficult to trace save in 'vad' = 'to speak' which would be a grossly erroneous explanation of vadar(e). Nēr. follows the Pahl. with prakāśaya. In the form pētākēnih we have a case of the 2nd sing. pres. used imperatively; see the gloss explaining the original.

<sup>2</sup> I follow this translation in dividing vīvarezdavatō, not pausing to consider a possible 'dav' in a vīvarezdavatō.

<sup>3</sup> Notice aē in this possible sense; 'from' after yūitar (or javiḍar).

<sup>4</sup> Here our additional MSS. give us a certain solution, -bavihūn. This text also illustrates a frequent error of the Pahl. trlr., who saw sometimes the form iš = bavihūnastan even in sēvištō, not often, but sometimes, the trlr. being in such cases possibly a different person. The -iš- in xrvīšyatō was rendered bavihūn. And yet these Pahlavi translations of the later Avesta are supposed to be closer to the original than those of the Gāthas. Both sets of Pahlavi translations, those upon the Gāthas and those here, gave us indeed our first ideas and are of indispensable value; but it is folly to ignore their necessary defects, many of which occurred from mechanical accident in the long course of successive periods of study and attempted exegesis. xrvīšyañt is an aorist formation from a xru, and has no such element as iš = 'to wish,' in it.

<sup>5</sup> I would correct my oversight in following Nēr.'s \*pīdayitari, which should have been \*pīdayitari (sic), read as nom.: 'do thou, O Haoma, as enraged'. . . .; so as of course.

contention (lit. the smiting) [that is to say, declare thoroughly the (defensive) remedy for it].

97. Against the wicked man, the tyrant, who has delivered a hurling<sup>1</sup> [who has thereby hurled a hurling upon persons],

(98) when he may approach the person; i. e. toward the saint, O Hōm the golden, for him also thou revealest the blow (showest battle), [that is to say, thoroughly declare the (defensive) remedy for it].

99. Against the unholy infidel, the destroyer of the world, i. e. against the herbad and the destour<sup>2</sup> who gives his attention and (utters) his speech, and may not attain to the matter in action, [that is to say, it is not made effect (or 'is not carried out by him'); he thinks, and says thus: 'I (will) do a thing,' and they (such as he) would not do it],

(100) who may (that is, when he may) approach the person, toward the saint, O Hōm the yellow, for him also thou dost make manifest (thy) smiting (showest thy blow), [that is to say, declare thoroughly the (defensive) remedy for it].

101. Against the harlot, (and) the sorcerer, even the (false)<sup>3</sup> pleasure-maker, [that is to say, they (such as she) would make a thing a ruin], against the one who brings protection\*,<sup>4</sup> [that is to say, they (such as this one) would accomplish the protection\* of (harmful) sinners] who on that account (for his (or 'her') sake) causes the mind to fluctuate like the wind-driven cloud,<sup>5</sup>

(102) who (or 'when she or he') would approach the person, toward the saint, O Hōm the yellow, for this one make manifest thy smiting . . . (show thy blow) [that is to say, declare thoroughly a (defensive) remedy for it];

(103) (yea) when (moved) by those (influences)<sup>6</sup> she (or 'he') may approach the person, i. e. toward the saint, O Hōm the yellow, for him make manifest thy smiting; [that is to say, thoroughly declare a (defensive) remedy for it].

[The translator, in apologizing for the misprints in the text, published in the twenty-third volume, first half, calls attention to the corrections also published in the same volume, second half, p. 357.]

<sup>1</sup> I think that this hint as to 'hurling' is valuable and correct.

<sup>2</sup> So spelt to improve the euphony, *dastūr* having a disagreeable sound.

<sup>3</sup> So, it is better to accept *mūdak* in an evil sense.

<sup>4</sup> As may be seen from SBE. xxxi, I do not accede to 'protection' as the meaning for *upastō* here. I compare Sk. *upāsthā*=bosom; to *upās*=bosom ('protection'\*=access(?)). <sup>5</sup> Lit. 'of a wind-driven nature'

<sup>6</sup> Possibly *min valāšān* is merely intended for a genitive.